

Routes to tour in Germany

The German Fairy Tale Route

German roads will get you there — even if nostalgia is your destination. On your next visit why not call to mind those halcyon childhood days when your mother or father told you fairy tales, maybe German ones? The surroundings in which our great fairy tale writers lived or the scenes in which the tales themselves were set will make their meaning even clearer and show you that many are based on a fairly realistic background.

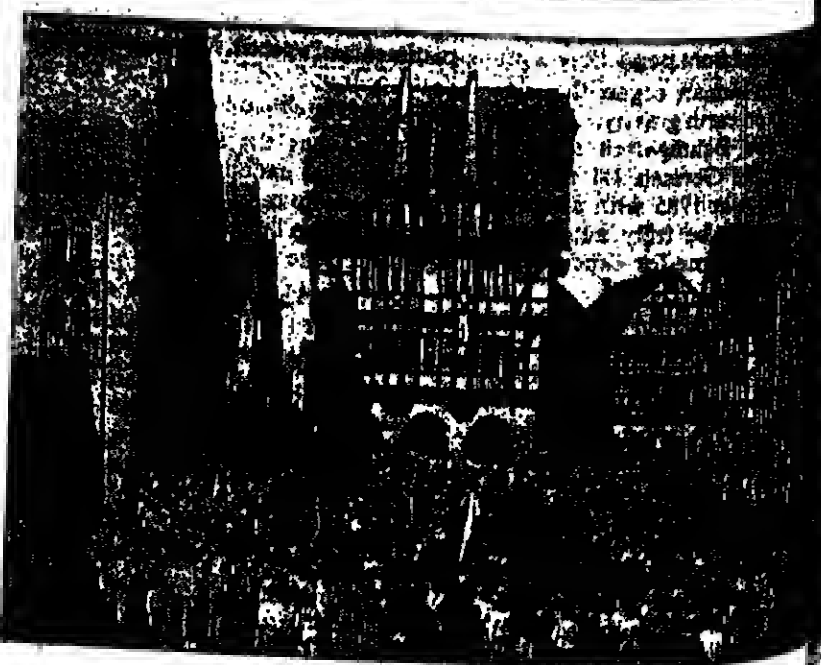
On a tour from Haneu, near Frankfurt, where the Brothers Grimm were born, to Bremen, where the Town Bend (consisting of a donkey, a dog, a cat and a cockerel) played such dreadful music that it put even robbers to flight, you will enjoy the varying kinds of countryside. And do stop over at Bodenwerder. That was where Baron Münchhausen told his breathtaking lies.

Visit Germany and let the Fairy Tale Route be your guide.



- 1 Bremen
- 2 Bodenwerder, home of the Brothers Grimm
- 3 Haneu, birthplace of the Brothers Grimm
- 4 Aلسfeld

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...airliner was shot down. So Bonn would be unrealistic to expect too much from the meeting.

...disarmament may be under discussion at more conference tables than ever before, but the Soviet Union has yet to make any substantial move toward Western compromise proposals on fundamental security policy issues.

...instead, it is inundating the Federal Republic with a wave of propaganda against missile modernisation. This has led to the assumption that Moscow has already thrown in the towel at Geneva.

...the latest Warsaw Pact declaration is not, on first scrutiny, seen to have changed matters much. The note of caution does not conceal the cloven hoof.

...the East Bloc virtually insists on the abandonment of the Nato missiles deployed before Moscow agrees to carry on negotiations in Geneva.

...there had earlier put forward similar proposals, springing an unpleasant surprise on fellow-members of Nato.

...The Federal Republic is proverbially secure in its position at the eye of the

The German Tribune

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Genscher makes lone bid to keep detente alive

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has had talks with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, in Vienna.

The aim of the meeting was to try and keep East-West detente alive. It was a tall order.

Genscher spoke to the Bundestag before leaving for his talks. He reiterated the Federal Republic's loyalty to Nato.

But he also included some friendly remarks addressed to the Soviet Union. This gave his Vienna visit the appearance of being a lone venture in Ostpolitik.

This was not a case of a restless ally taking the bit. But something needed to be done to break the East-West pattern of events.

Was there anything to be gained? Or was the ice in world affairs now inevitably driven into a corner since the

needle in the East-West conflict, and not only the East is to blame.

It is almost an irony of Atlantic fate that the lavish celebrations to mark the tricentennial of German immigration have opened the eyes of visitors from the Federal Republic to the fact that German-American ties vary strongly in accordance with the overall political atmosphere.

There was neither discord nor open clashes, but Herr Genscher noticed during his talks in Washington where the current gaps between Bonn and Washington remain to be bridged.

The Social and Free Democratic coalition was berated by the Opposition for years when it was in power in Bonn.

It was accused of wanting to decouple Germany from America, of promoting neutralism and Finlandisation.

Now the Christian Democrats have been returned in power in Bonn they have been quickly obliged to realise what a difficult ally the United States can be.

In the unstable state world affairs are now in, the burdens on the alliance tend to be imposed from the other side of the Atlantic: from America.

The strict and, in part, mildly, cogent

Continued on page 2



Briefing encounter

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (centre) in Bonn with Paul Nitze (left) and Kenneth Adelman, Nitze is chief American negotiator at the INF arms negotiations in Geneva and Adelman is head of the American arms control and disarmament agency. This meeting was to brief Genscher about the Geneva talks.

Signs are that Kremlin wants to put the West to the test

The Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Gromyko, spent more than 10 hours over two days discussing international disarmament problems and East-West ties with Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-

talks. We would then have to wait and see how the Bonn government comes out of the clash of viewpoints and war of nerves with the Opposition and the peace movement.

Will Bonn succeed in getting the new missiles, even a strictly limited initial number, stationed in Germany without shaking the democratic system of government to the foundations?

As soon as the outcome of this clash is clear, two Soviet responses seem likely to be inevitable.

If Nato missile modernisation gets under way and it is clear that Bonn has no intention of allowing its membership of the Atlantic defence and security system to be called into question, the Kremlin will be prepared to seriously discuss further disarmament moves.

Beforehand, the Soviet Union is sure to have demonstratively, but to a limited extent, have reinforced its own missile potential near the intra-German border.

If, on the contrary, the deployment of new US missiles in the Federal Republic proves impossible or is postponed, Moscow will be able to hope that in the long term German-American relations will grow totally estranged.

Bonn would then hopefully withdraw from Nato and isolate itself.

The Soviet response would then be to employ a strategy for which preparations are already being made. Moscow would do its utmost to encourage neutralisation.

Franz Fegeler

(Nordwest Zeitung, 17 October 1983)



Anti-missile protest

A demonstrator is carried away at Bremerhaven during a demonstration against the deployment of Nato missiles in West Germany. About 100 people were removed from near an American barracks. Lorries were forced to queue so demonstrators blocked access to the north German port. Bremerhaven was the first of a series of rallies, protests and vigils planned for various parts of the Federal Republic. (See page 4.)

(Photos: dpa)

When Chancellor Kohl was asked whether German foreign policy would continue as before or change, he took the edge out of the question.

Every new government, he said, had to work with the situation that existed when it took office. Changes could only be brought about in the long term.

He thus accepted a principle that has been a hallmark of Bonn's foreign policy in particular ever since the Federal Republic of Germany was founded.

There were no fundamental changes in 1969 either, which was the previous time power had changed hands in Bonn.

There were furious disputes over Ostpolitik in the years that followed, but they tended to hide from view the fact that in principle Bonn remained firmly tied to the West.

The Federal Republic did not drift off in the direction of the East Bloc and could hardly have done so. Its treaty ties with the West and countless *faits accomplis* made any such idea impossible. Although it had learnt this lesson the government of Helmut Kohl and Hans-Dietrich Genscher has likewise attuned itself to a policy of accepting *faits accomplis* over the past year.

The disputes that marked the present Bonn coalition's early days seem so long past that they might never have taken place.

Take the clash over whether the new coalition should continue its predecessor's Ostpolitik. It no longer has a leg to stand on now Franz Josef Strauss has toured Eastern Europe and been associated with a billion-deutschmark loan to East Berlin.

There is no longer any mention, at least aloud, of the need for a change in relations with the Third World in general and Africa in particular.

This could be explained in terms of the pragmatic outlook of conservatives, who are not given to ideological fixations. It is, indeed, a popular interpretation.

But it is more to the point to realise that there are constant factors in foreign affairs that allow no government to undertake abrupt changes except at the price of grave disadvantages.

Every Bonn government is embedded in a web of historically accrued relationships that grows steadily more intricately woven.

This web is suspended from two mainstays. One is the Federal Republic's security policy significance, the other its economic policy significance.

In security policy it is hard to envisage any change at all in the foreseeable future. In economic policy the possibility cannot be entirely ruled out.

The Federal Republic today, with a track record spanning 34 years, seems so self-evident it is worth while recalling the security policy prerequisites.

It is enough to study the origins of the German Treaty signed in 1952 and ratified in 1955 to realise that the Federal Republic of Germany owes its existence to a foreign policy decision of principle.

It can then be seen how the Federal Republic joined the West and gradually found its feet, throwing away its crutches and freeing itself from the arms of its midwives.

Not entirely, of course. Allied rights still apply, as in the context of the treaty governing troops stationed in the Federal Republic or of the Four-Power Berlin Agreement.

But the feature that weighs most heavily is the proviso, accepted on 5 May 1955, the day on which the country gained full sovereignty, that sovereignty was linked to joining Nato.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Bonn policies built round two main pillars

Christ und Welt
Abendlicher Merkur

Pulling out of Nato, as suggested by Oskar Lafontaine, the SPD mayor of Saarbrücken, in the context of the missile debate, would deprive the Federal Republic of its very foundation.

Its entire *raison d'être*, its entire foreign policy self-concept, would have been eliminated.

Basically, all other strands of the foreign policy web are linked with this first knot. The Social and Free Democratic coalition's Ostpolitik would not have been possible had it not been for Bonn's firm tie with the West, as has often been noted.

Accession to the United Nations in 1973, a move that made it much easier for the Federal Republic to play an active part in world affairs, likewise derives from this web of reference points.

The Federal Republic, individually though it may argue on specific issues, has always seen itself as part of the Western world, a world centred on Washington.

Plans for neutralism, voraciously considered, have never really stood the slightest chance of being put into practice.

Bonn's foreign policy ramifications are so far-reaching, with so many ties having been established, for instance, by virtue of membership of the many UN organisations and other international bodies, that it seems absurd to envisage any one of them being severed.

One need only call to mind the recognition of Germany from the League of Nations in 1933 by comparison to appreciate the complexity of the present-day situation.

Continued from page 1

centric economic policy pursued by the United States prompted even the proverbially friendly Bonn President, Karl Carstens, to gently raise the issue in his speech to Congress.

Herr Carstens' remarks were greeted with a yawn. Herr Genscher's brief was to clearly state the interests of the European Community too — in addition to his constant warnings against a trade war with the East.

A point that bares the nerve of our political interests, however, is that America has shut the door to Russia more firmly than for a long time.

Anyone can imagine what our reactions would be if Soviet missiles had shot down an airliner with 60 Germans on board.

But the sale of tee-shirts in Washington with the slogan Stop the Soviets testifies to a fundamental current that could well strike fear, into us on the border between East and West.

Transposed to the political level, it looks as though some people in Washington look on the shooting-down of the Korean airliner as confirming their instinctive judgement that talks cannot reliably be held with the Soviet Union on international security.

At present there is very little evidence of the pragmatic approach to Ostpolitik

At times it is none too easy to distinguish which factor weighs more heavily: the security policy or the economic policy one.

They tend to interlock, intersect and be superimposed on each other. Up to a point that was the case 30 years ago. Joining the EEC had both an economic and a more generally political aspect.

The Federal Republic has since emerged as the moving spirit of European integration, as has been clearly apparent in the membership talks of successive newcomers.

Bonn's view has invariably been decisive, whether in connection with the accession of Britain, Ireland and Denmark in 1973 or Greek membership some years later or, at present, the prospective membership of Spain and Portugal.

This is a weight that did not come the Federal Republic's way automatically, as in the case of security policy. It was not a matter of a favourable situation or circumstances; it was earned the hard way.

The internal consolidation of the state was brought about by an economy constantly developing by means of continual modernisation and diversification and, above all, by virtue of its readiness for social compromise.

This development was brought about deliberately and was responsible for the importance the Federal Republic of Germany was to attain.

It soon became apparent, both in Europe and further afield, in the Third World the Federal Republic soon made its mark by means of the nature and extent of its development aid.

Keywords such as United, Gatt and FAO are some indication of the dimensions in which Bonn's foreign policy is currently conducted.

the Reagan administration seemed finally to have arrived at after an unconscionably long period of acclimatisation.

And there is no reason whatever for assuming as a matter of course that the anti-Soviet view which now prevails in the United States will be either alleviated or reversed in 1984, an election year.

The most serious aspect for Bonn and other European countries is the effect this trend may have on Soviet behaviour.

George F. Kennan, the US expert on the East, is afraid Moscow might now view the United States as an arch-enemy and behave in an even more unpredictable manner.

If Mr Kennan is right there is indeed a real hope of a resumption soon of the dialogue between the superpowers.

In this state of affairs Bonn, personified mainly by Foreign Minister Genscher, is as keen on détente as the Brandt and Schmidt governments were in their Ostpolitik heydays.

Herr Genscher's offer of cooperation with Moscow to a hitherto unspecified extent, his "message of good will to the Soviet Union," arises from the need to keep the door open at least a chink.

Even if it is too late to achieve results at the Geneva missile talks, the beginnings of missile modernisation must not be allowed to mark the end of all East-West ties.

In a word, it may fairly be said there is not a spot on the globe where the interests of the Federal Republic are not involved in one way or another. Two recent projects make this national interface particularly clear. One is the succession of United Nations, the other the CSCE, or the process.

The United Nations gatherings taken on their own, have immense significance, but as a whole and by the outlook to which they testify document the sense of responsibility felt by the countries that attend.

The Federal Republic is a participant and, to take but one example, a reorganisation of the international monetary system is being discussed. Bonn chooses not to take its role in the CSCE seriously, regardless how highly the CSCE is rated.

The CSCE and Helsinki conference marathon entails more than a mere exercise in diplomacy and cooperation in Europe. It is the participation of the superpowers.

It may not have mended the rift between East and West but it has at least put it, at least for the time being, on a more rational basis. The Arab countries are, justifiably, regarded as a prelude to a settlement in the Middle East.

The Arab countries are, justifiably, regarded as a prelude to a settlement in the Middle East.

Other aspects of 1970s policy have declined in importance. Genscher has repeatedly declared the CSCE as an instance of the principle of continuity in foreign policy.

If Europe were to be even more divided, he has consistently said, the German would stand to lose.

In the wake of the Helsinki conference in Madrid there will be a conference on disarmament and the next January, special conference will be held until 1986.

The Federal Republic has progressive and constructive role in the CSCE process. In its own right will continue to play this part.

Gerhard von Grottel (Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 October 1983)

Yet Bonn knows full well that the cow is not going to offer it subsidies for its own sake. Detente works when both superpowers want to. It would be succumbing to a military illusion to believe anything else.

What Mr Gromyko had to say in Vienna thus primarily indicated the supporting role of the Palestinians' right to self-determination even though that was to do business with Washington, on what basis.

If the Vienna talks held forth as the merest ray of hope Bonn will have to bring its influence to bear on both sides without delay to ensure actions follow words.

Thomas Meyer (Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 October 1983)

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WORLD AFFAIRS

Kohl keeps his balance in Middle East

It is too early to say Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl's tour of the Middle East was a total success merely because nothing major went wrong.

National and international response has been positive.

The Chancellor succeeded for the time being in ending debate on the controversial issue of Leopard tanks for Saudi Arabia.

He did this by saying no, the deal was not to be made. But it was a move to be made with mixed feelings because Herr Kohl made questionable sacrifices saying no.

A long-term assessment can clearly not be made yet.

It was not expected that his visit to Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia would prompt major steps toward a settlement (and continues to draw up) the Arab countries are, justifiably, regarded as a prelude to a settlement in the Middle East.

The Arab countries are, justifiably, regarded as a prelude to a settlement in the Middle East.

That is why they would like to see European, including the Federal Republic of Germany, take over as prime movers in efforts to mediate.

But it is asking too much of Bonn. Everyone knows no country must take greater care than the Federal Republic to avoid taking sides in the Middle East and to strike a balance in relations with Israel and the Arab world.

A country with so little leeway cannot become a moving force regardless what King Hussein may have on European initiatives.

The only role open to Bonn is the modest but sound one of encouraging the United States to keep up its Middle East initiative.

Bonn must lend Washington any support it can and encourage America in conjunction with its partners in Europe.

Herr Kohl kept his balance in the Middle East, obiding by the policy pursued by his predecessor Helmut Schmidt. Charming though his Arab hosts were, he didn't wobble for a moment. At every stage of his journey he called for recognition of Israel and for the abandonment of Israeli settlement policy in the occupied West Bank.

He also maintained continuity by supporting the Palestinians' right to self-determination even though that was to do business with Washington, on what basis.

Will the Chancellor's tight-rope walk be given justice in Israel? Probably not, given his comments on settlement policy, military cooperation with Saudi Arabia and the arms and equipment Bonn is willing to export.

Herr Kohl prides himself on having refused to allow the export of the Leopard Mk 2 tank to Saudi Arabia without causing serious damage to relations between Bonn and Riyadh.

This pride is understandable, but regret at having summoned the courage to say no does not justify referring to the move as a famous victory.

That is to presuppose that all the Chancellor could hope to accomplish was to prevent the worst from happening, which is far from having been the case.

The fundamental problem of arms exports to non-Nato countries, especially to hot spots such as the Middle East, remains unsolved.

It might even have worsened because Bonn and Riyadh have now agreed in writing to include defence issues in their cooperation.

In the final analysis it matters little which weapon systems are supplied to Saudi Arabia, whether for instance they are the Gepard (Cheeta) anti-aircraft tank or the Roland anti-aircraft missile.

A more far-reaching issue arises. It is whether Herr Kohl might not, by taking this step, have opened floodgates and encouraged German arms exports to a degree with which no-one can be happy.

We can ignore whether the Chancellor was politically in a position to do anything else. The Bonn government would say that he wanted to.

Malaise over military cooperation is not limited to necessary consideration of Israel. Arms exports to Saudi Arabia could set a precedent for the Third World.

Arms are the export Third World countries need least. Besides, Bonn would find itself in trouble arguing which country should be sold which weapons. The outcome could be total confusion.

All political parties in Bonn, including the CDU/CSU, have fundamental misgivings, but there are also individual critical aspects.

Is the Gepard tank still a defensive weapon when used to back up an attack and to perform anti-aircraft duties in occupied territory?

The distinction between attacking and defensive weapons is dubious in any case and clearly apparent in Saudi Arabia's case.

The Federal Republic's own Leopard tanks are designed for forward defence, so Bonn could only really refuse to sell them to Riyadh if the Saudis were alleged to have other intentions.

Arms exports are risky inasmuch as there can be no guarantee that systems will remain in the country to which they are exported. They could be re-exported. And if Bonn is to export to Saudi Arabia an advanced tank like the Gepard it logically must provide the Saudi

Supplies of oil from the Middle East are under threat again as a result of the delivery of five French Super-Etendard fighters plus Exocet missiles to Iraq.

Iran, at war with Iraq, has threatened to block the Strait of Hormuz. All tankers have to pass through the strait to get out of the Persian Gulf.

In three years of war against Iraq the ayatollahs have retained the initiative, and the world has grown accustomed to their unusual moves.

They might be capable of sending out a tanker to straddle the strait and then simply sinking it. Would that trigger an oil crisis?

Last year 2.8 billion tonnes of oil and gas, including 2.1 billion from the West, was produced worldwide, but only about 600 million tonnes or so came from the Gulf.

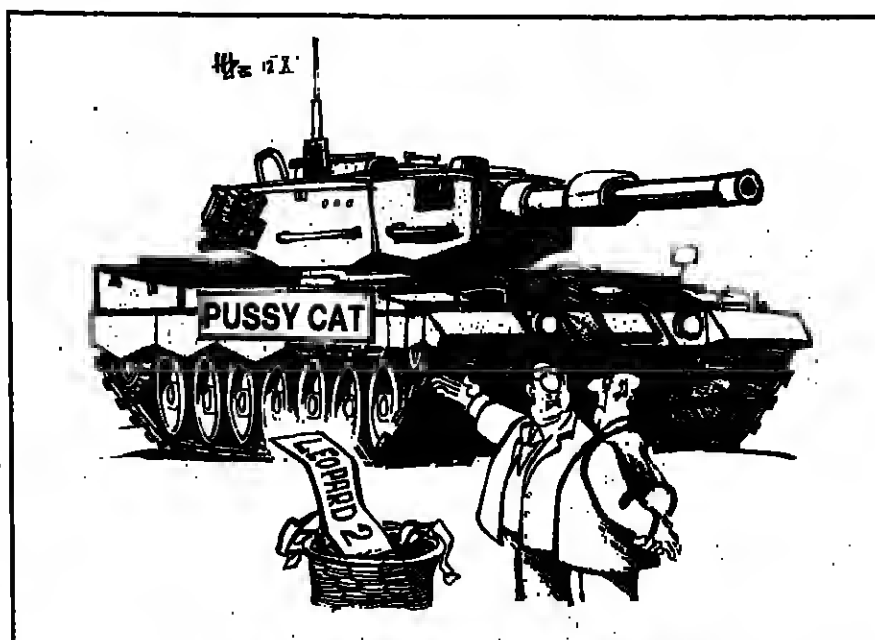
This figure includes the 150 million tonnes exported by Iran and Iraq. In 1980 about 950 million of a total 3.1 billion tonnes came from the Gulf region.

So the world's dependence on the Middle East as a petroleum exporter has declined, although the area still accounts for nearly a third of oil output bound for the West.

How would the West react to an interruption in shipments from the Gulf? In 1979, at the time of the Iranian revolution, a five-per-cent shortfall in world output sent oil prices soaring by over 70 per cent.

The result was a balance-of-payments crisis in the West. But the situation has since changed for the better from the viewpoint of the industrialised countries.

Most petroleum-exporting countries are in financial difficulty because of the decline in oil consumption. The oil countries' ambitious investment programmes necessitate regular



Now, do you think we can sell it to them?

(Cartoon: Heitzinger/Nordwest Zeitung)

armed forces with instructors too. Ought German soldiers to be instructing Arab troops? Whatever the answer, this is only one of a number of alarming questions that arise.

But despite all misgivings Herr Kohl must be allowed not to have made his move impetuously or carelessly. He will have had serious reasons.

One may have been that the Saudis felt the Schmidt government had given them a definite assurance on the Leopard tank.

The Chancellor sensibly decided not to make political capital out of this point. That surely is a laudable aspect of what, at all, was a useful tour.

Heinz-Joachim Melder (Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 13 October 1983)

Warplanes: new X in the oil equation

high revenues and leave them with very little room to manoeuvre.

The fall in the market price of oil resulting from supply exceeding demand has wrought havoc with their long-term plans.

So oil exporters such as Nigeria, Mexico, Algeria and Indonesia will be delighted to supply much more oil than at present if there is any interruption in the flow of oil from the Middle East.

Extra oil could also be imported from Libya if Col. Gaddafi could be persuaded to be so obliging. North Sea oil production could also be stepped up to some extent.

This extra would not fully offset a likely shortfall of roughly 400 million tonnes, but the multinationals retain a degree of flexibility.

Their storage tanks are full to the brim. Besides, an armada of supertankers is cruising at a snail's pace on the high seas to save fuel.

A few extra per cent of oil could be gained merely by having these tankers go full throttle.

So it is most unlikely that OECD countries would need to use their official oil reserves even if supplies from Saudi Arabia were to be partly hit.

The International Energy Agency, Paris, has instructed all OECD countries to stockpile oil reserves for just such an eventuality.

The price of crude oil is constantly falling. Economies are sluggish. There is still a high potential for economic stagnation in the industrialised West.

So there would seem to be a reasonable guarantee that any further bid to blackmail the world by cutting off oil supplies would fall to have the desired effect.

Any country that blockaded the Strait of Hormuz could certainly not count on solidarity from other Opec countries. Opec is more divided than ever.

Iran and Iraq are both Opec members, and both are abjectly dependent on higher oil revenue and oil exports.

All the Opec countries would be sure to offer to supply consumers promptly, reliably and in good time. If need be they might even trade on unofficial markets.

The Iranians, who are still well informed on the oil trade, are well aware of this and will realise that a blockade of the Persian Gulf would be doomed to prove ineffective.

So they will be wondering very carefully whether they ought to risk provoking intervention by the US Navy, which could well guard the Strait of Hormuz on behalf of America's client state Saudi Arabia.

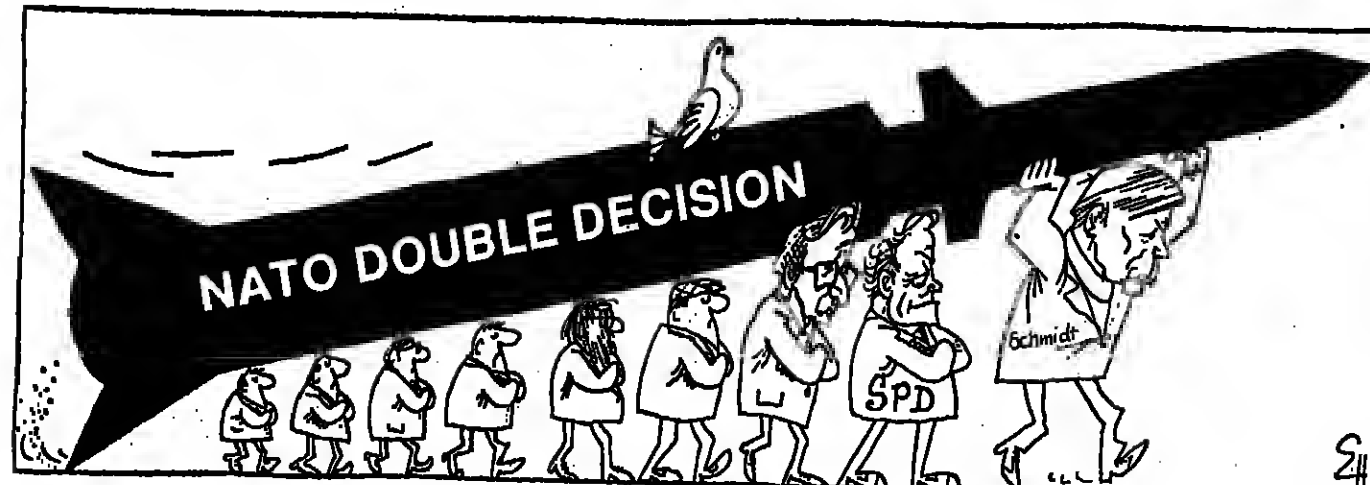
What prompts France to run such a risk is another matter. The French are owed 40 billion francs by Iraq, which is a great deal of money.

They are afraid they may never see any of it if Iraq loses the Gulf War. So they have decided to redress the military balance between Iraq and Iran.

In doing so they are likely to have contributed toward prolonging a war that has dragged on for more than three years.

The Strait of Hormuz remains a weak link in the chain and the West ought to take precautionary action.

Bernd Hansen (Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 16 October 1983)



(Cartoon: Heidemann/Frankfurter Neue Presse)

HOME AFFAIRS

Social Democrats' retreat on missiles cracks inter-party security consensus

The Social Democrats are likely to reject the deployment of missiles when they meet at a special national conference next month.

State and district meetings throughout the country have been voting against deployment. This means it is likely to become official Opposition policy.

This retreat from the old policy formed when they were in government is regrettable. It also creates problems.

For a start, it destroys the consensus that has existed between the two main parties for many years. This consensus was needed to strengthen Germany's position within Nato and towards the Soviet Union in a bid to get success at the Geneva arms talks.

Then there is the question of Germany's membership of Nato. The SPD has raised this at the wrong time. It wants to show that there can be no security partnership with Helmut Kohl as Chancellor.

It will have some difficulty doing this. Kohl's position is almost identical with that of his predecessor, Helmut Schmidt. Neither is or was a "missile chancellor."

The fact is the SPD has reneged on Schmidt. Why? It is not entirely clear. Alfons Pawelczyk, and SPD Senator in Hamburg, speaks of an emotional backlash in a party that had to make too many compromises while it was in government.

Professor Karl Kaiser, a party member and foreign affairs expert, says the SPD overlooks the continued necessity of dealing with the Soviet Union on an ideological plane.

The only thing the party was concerned with now was cooperation with the USSR.

Party leader Willy Brandt has come up with another approach. His hopes rest on achieving a majority with the help of the Greens.

The difficulty in pinpointing the reasons for the party's change of stance indicates that there is a leadership problem that existed even before it was thrown out of government in Bonn.

Since the summer of 1981, Helmut Schmidt's only way of making his party toe the line on the Nato missiles decision was to threaten to resign.

Now, Brandt and Egon Bahr say that the party agreed to the decision only out of consideration for Schmidt. This is a somewhat weird argument.

It is doubtful whether Schmidt would have been able to bring Moscow to the Geneva bargaining table in the summer of 1980 without the Nato decision.

If a party considers the decision

wrong it can only do this for the reasons Henry Kissinger gave in an interview with the weekly *Der Spiegel*: Nato should have started to deploy the new weapons and then offered negotiations. As things stand, Nato has set itself a deadline by which to succeed.

The Germans brought this deadline on themselves because they wanted deployment only if talks failed. This had been hailed as a new element in arms control policies.

Talks would not have been possible without pressure. And now it was im-

possible to get rid of this deadline. This would reduce the likelihood of success in Geneva still further and deal a severe blow to arms control. The Alliance would be strained to breaking point and the Soviets' feigning would stop the deployment without any concession on their part, says Kissinger.

The SPD leadership cannot ignore these arguments. Yet it gives the impression that it supports all the wrong reasons against the missile decision.

Anybody who acts as if American had gone back on its promise by its non-rati-

fication of Salt II ignores the fact that people who now already believe in Geneva talks are uninformed.

Anybody who believes that the withdrawal of new missiles will increase the Soviet nuclear advantage ignores what is happening in West Germany.

The demand for an inclusion of French and British nuclear weapons is misleading. They can be included on one-for-one basis or for total waiving of American missiles.

If the deployment were waived, it would still be the question of the Alliance or becoming neutral.

The Americans would soon be withdrawing their troops altogether.

If détente is to be revived, it is necessary to help bring about an arms breakthrough and secure a saying.

And if one strives for a new alliance the Alliance one must strengthen this Alliance further.

Even if there is an interim solution, major questions would remain: what would be the shape of a balance of power? What would be the function of the British and the French? And what would be the position of non-nuclear countries like West Germany?

It is unlikely to come to terms having nuclear weapons stationed on territory without a say about them.

If the Geneva talks fall and influence crumbles, these issues will be of central importance in the domestic scene in Germany.

The SPD carries a heavy responsibility.

Dieter Schöndel

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 Oct)

Protests against missile deployment in the Federal Republic have begun. One series of huge demonstrations alone is expected to attract more than a million.

But they are likely to achieve little.

The first of the missiles will be installed towards the end of the year unless there is a last minute breakthrough in the Geneva arms control talks. But there is nothing to indicate a breakthrough at the moment.

Will the tide of protest collapse like the Ban the Bomb campaign in 1958 or the extra-parliamentary opposition movement ten years later? Probably not.

There is no way back to the days when a handful of politicians who knew their business and a few government experts hammered out the nation's defence policy among themselves.

The peace movement had changed Germany's security policy scene even if it fails to achieve immediate goals.

One peace movement spokesman, Volkmar Delle, of *Aktion Sühnezeichen*, says: No West European government is likely to make another nuclear arms buildup decision in the near future. Security policy has been democratised.

In the face of this, the government urges people to stand their ground for the sake of credibility at home and abroad. The Chancellor's appeals for harmony and Heiner Geissler's vilification of opponents in a bid to strengthen the government's following and push the opposition into a corner. And there is public relations work like the new White Paper on defence.

Effects of the political fallout from deployment can be cushioned by maximising the *Ostpolitik* angle. An example of this is the meeting between Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Moscow's Andrei Gromyko in Vienna.

This can make it easier for the government to show that it has done every-

thing to make headway in East-West relations. But it has now become obvious that the traditional political instruments can be useful only if Germany's basic security needs are uncontented.

Those days are long gone. The controversy over the deployment is only a symptom of a deep-rooted difference of views: the views of those for whom security rests with America's nuclear shield and those for whom this very shield is the root of insecurity.

This dissension at home reduces the predictability of German policy abroad.

Until the end of the 1980s, the effectiveness of Germany's security policy will depend on whether it can once more be backed by a solid majority.

This means that the government must deal with the fundamental criticism of the missile opponents.

But neither the Kohl-Genscher government nor the Social-Liberal coalition it replaced has done this.

Merely pointing to the threat from the Soviet SS-20 missiles and the Geneva talks cannot sway the sceptics and opponents.

There is no alternative to the deterrence principle in our nuclear age. But this does not make the strategy free of problems.

Even those who consider deterrence must need not necessarily approve of a weapons system like the Pershing II — a missile that is fast, accurate and therefore unnecessarily provocative.

The same goes for the arsenal of tactical nuclear weapons (6,000 in Western Europe, 4,000 of them in West Germa-

ny) that has been amassed over the past 20 years.

The wedding of 1,000-2,000 heads which Nato is about to do only a long overdue first step.

There is also no alternative to Germany's military integration in Nato. It might be possible, and even desirable, for Bonn to have an independent nuclear decision on the deployment of nuclear missiles in West Germany, but this is particularly so in view of the problematic nuclear doctrine.

Such a policy review would not be the hard core of German pacifist neutrality. But it could sway those demonstrators out of fear and might help them accept the Alliance's deterrence principle as a contribution towards security.

Jürgen Hühnermus describes civil obedience as the "acid test of German maturity."

The missile controversy is also a test: can Germany once more talk about peace and the best way of preserving it in a manner that will do justice to both the facts and the views of others?

This is the true challenge of the time.

It would therefore be disastrous if protests turned violent and the clubbed demonstrators something more than many extremists are probably capable of.

If this happens, the chance of negotiating the controversy would be lost.

Christoph Böhm

(Die Zeit, 14 October)

Protests against deployment likely to achieve little

PERSPECTIVE

Germany, USA: reconciling change and continuity

In a nutshell, the decline of America can be accounted for by saying that the United States won't listen to reason and insists on living beyond its means.

President Johnson was not in a position to pay for both Vietnam and his Great Society at the same time. President Reagan can't simultaneously plan to plough \$1,000bn into armaments and cut taxation.

Yet the Americans persist in imagining they can get away with such sins against the facts of economic life, with consequences that we have all seen happen before.

Above all else it is the staggering US government debt and the high interest rates it has triggered that have made America a major factor for uncertainty in the eyes of its allies.

Germany with its hard currency has been particularly hard-hit by an undervalued dollar and expansionary US monetary policy in the past.

The German economy is currently hard-hit by an overvalued dollar and finding it difficult to stage an economic recovery.

This is partly because higher domestic interest rates are impeding necessary investment, while indispensable imports, such as oil, have to be paid for in overvalued dollars.

Fundamental changes in US society are proving no less disadvantageous for the Federal Republic of Germany.

America's Atlantic generation has passed away and the centre of power has shifted from the East coast to the West and South.

One result has been that President Carter came to power from Georgia and President Reagan from California, and both men and their entourages aimed to govern America entirely differently.

There were going to be sweeping changes from the way the US govern-

ment had been run by the Washington Establishment.

As a result, only a handful of people who know Europe or Germany are still at the White House, the State Department and the Pentagon.

US foreign policy has grown more ideologically tinged, albeit for domestic reasons. Mr Reagan's populist neo-conservatism is, moreover, nationalist and, up to a point, isolationist in outlook.

It would be unrealistic to take an isolated view of ties between Bonn and Washington and ignore Bonn's ties with the European Community and America's worldwide commitments.

This is a classic case of far-reaching interdependence, or reciprocal dependence. Helmut Kohl sees the position no differently than Helmut Schmidt did, and the views of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, as Foreign Minister to both, are unchanged.

Chancellor Kohl has been better able to alleviate certain irritations in Washington because he, unlike Herr Schmidt, can be sure his party, the Christian Democrats, are solidly behind him. Besides, Dr Kohl has no intention of berating the Americans.

He instinctively is more mindful of

denauer disliked Kennedy. Kiesinger and Erhard got on well with Johnson. Brandt and Nixon ushered in total waiving of American missiles.

Helmut Schmidt had trouble with any Carter but none with Ronald Reagan. How has Helmut Kohl managed relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States changed or improved since the election of the Social and Free Democratic Party to Bonn?

The question ought first to be examined independently of personalities. The above list shows, getting on well with a matter of Christian Democrat and Republican or Social Democrat and Democrat. Party-political affiliations don't seem to matter much. The ministry of personal attributes and characteristics does.

Schmidt and Carter, for instance, were clearly not very compatible where the kind of chemistry is concerned.

After decades of reporting from the United States I have come to the conclusion that two main factors influence relations with the Americans.

They are the foreign policy interests that govern the lines the two governments take and the effect domestic developments have on foreign policy.

Foreign policy interests have remained strikingly steady since the Federal Republic of Germany came into being in 1949, again for two main reasons:

First, the East-West clash in the wake of the Second World War led to the division of Germany, the emergence of the Federal Republic and the ties that this day link us with the United States.

Second, nuclear weapons have so far effectively prevented a war between the United States and the Soviet Union. They for the most part will continue to guarantee the status quo in Europe.

They will do, that is, assuming that far-reaching and complete change in US-Soviet relations intervenes.

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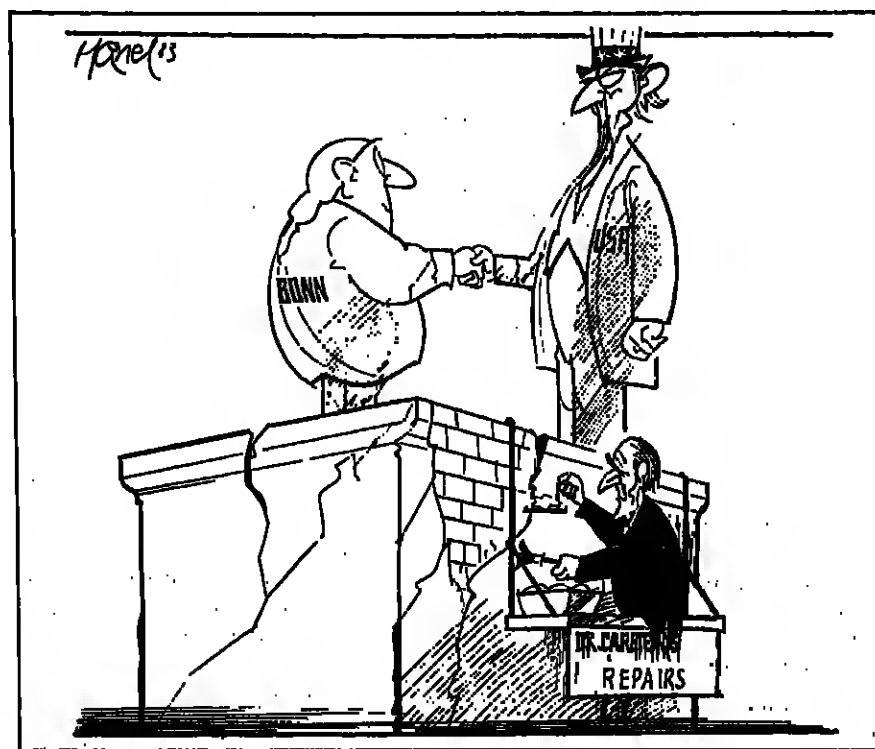
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(Die Zeit, 14 October)



(Cartoon: Hanel/Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

American sensitivities in respect of European arrogance (whether intentional or merely suspected).

So the present Chancellor is given more of a hearing when he, as a loyal friend of America's, says with increasing clarity that the US must sort out its budget problems.

In financial and trade policy, he tells the Americans, they ought to give more thought to their alliance partners.

And when it comes to arms agreements with the Russians, they must make sure of terms that ensure a balance of power at as low a level of armaments as possible so as to ease the senseless burden of arms spending.

Continuity was a keyword when the Christian Democrats took over in Bonn a year ago. But how can a change be reconciled with continuity?

Is it basically just a matter of different people pursuing more or less the same policies? Not in every sector, but for sure, but arguably so in foreign policy; certainly policy toward the United States.

But to be fair it must be added that Helmut Kohl is pursuing his predecessor's policy with a continuity Herr Schmidt would no longer have been in a position to maintain.

The dual-track Nato decision on talks and missiles was virtually Helmut Schmidt's brainchild, but the Social Democrats have undermined it and a majority of them are now practically opposed to it.

Politics and the weather have much in common. What matters is the climate in which a political trend either flourishes or withers.

Ronald Reagan may be a charming man but his policy has brought about a decided chill in the climate of East-West ties.

A historical parallel may be of interest here, though with the boot on the other foot.

What Adenauer accused Kennedy of, Reagan is now saying about his European allies: that they are too complacent and willing to negotiate with Moscow.

In the early 1960s President Kennedy sought to come to terms with the other nuclear and superpower, largely on account of Berlin and despite the Cuban crisis.

Eisenhower had tried a similar approach at Geneva in 1955. Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter were to follow suit.

Until Mr Reagan took over in the Oval Office the rule was that the Ameri-

cans first had to drag the Germans in the direction of détente.

Then, in the 1970s, although a start had undeniably been made in the late 1960s by the Grand Coalition of Kiesinger and Brandt in Bonn, America and Germany were more or less level-pegging in aiming at peace partnership with the Russians.

This was the state of affairs until after Helsinki. Then the Russians occupied Afghanistan, punished dissidents like Andrei Sakharov and began their SS-20 build-up.

The pendulum began to swing the other way. Long before Mr Reagan moved to the White House Jimmy Carter, a Democrat, boycotted the Moscow Olympics and warned the Russians to keep their hands off the Gulf.

America was deeply humiliated by Iran over the US embassy hostages in Tehran. Gigantic America was incapable of dealing with dwarfs like Khomeini, Gaddafi and Castro.

The United States had Central America in uproar on its own back door.

This combination ensured President Reagan of the support of a broad majority of the US public and a hesitant and much smaller Congressional majority for his militant approach.

He also made a point of being tough with his allies, which include us.

The economy, Germany's 1920s Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau wisely foresaw decades ago, is our destiny.

The destiny of transatlantic ties and German-American cooperation is now largely dependent on dealing successfully with a serious international economic crisis.

That too is a task Helmut Kohl has inherited from his predecessor. So there has been no dramatic change in German-American relations since we have had another Chancellor (but the same Foreign Minister) in Bonn.

The climate has improved, however, or arguably, to put it a little more sceptically, public relations work on both sides.

Rhetoric on both sides of the Atlantic is certainly more cordial than it has been for long, and the tricentennial anniversary of German Immigration to North America came as a blessing and a public relations godsend at just the right time.

The continuity of joint problems and tasks is certainly a compelling reason for the two countries to stay together.

Thilo Koch

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 7 October 1983)

Christ und Welt Abelscher Mettur

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■ THE WORKFORCE

Germany's biggest union pushes for 35-hour week

Allgemeine Zeitung

Germany's largest trade union, the metalworkers' IG Metall, is campaigning for the working week to be reduced from 40 hours to 35 without pay cuts.

Because of IG Metall's size (2.5m members) and influence, the campaign is likely to have widespread reverberations if it is successful.

The campaign will be led by Hans Mayr. He was elected at the union's annual congress in Munich to succeed Eugen Loderer as chief. Loderer is retiring after 11 years in the post.

However, Herr Mayr is likely to step down in three years because, he then will be 65, and under the union's unwritten rules, that is retirement age for the post.

Waiting in the wings will then be the young (46) and ambitious Franz Steinkühler, head of the Stuttgart region, who was elected deputy leader at Munich. Steinkühler is regarded as more militant than either Mayr or Loderer.

This year IG Metall finds itself in confrontation with the metal industries. Business has generally improved, but the union says the industry is making "an all-out attack on our achievements."

So the first task of the new leadership is to rally the membership.

Crises in such sectors as electrical engineering and steel have over the years caused growing unemployment and membership has dropped more than 100,000 since 1979.

There were 370,000 metalworkers

unemployed at the end of September says the Federal labour office.

If the union manages to get grass-roots support for the 35-hour week without pay cuts, the ripples could have a wide-ranging social upshot.

Eugen Loderer called the introduction of the 40-hour work week the "achievement of the century."

National executive member Hans Janssen, in charge of collective bargaining, said the 35-hour week dispute would be the most serious of the post-war era.

The campaign is meant to combat unemployment but the employers fear increased costs will lead to more bankruptcies and layoffs.

Some of the more than 900 motions put forward in Munich dealt with peace and disarmament.

The Nuremberg region has called on members of protest against deployment in Germany of new US missiles by making use of their right to resistance under Article 20 of the Constitution. This would mean organising a general strike.

In addition, the national executive has been urged to take all legal steps to clarify the constitutionality of deploying mass destruction weapons in this country.

These motions are being channelled towards a resolution against the deployment part of the two-track NATO decision.

But the national executive rejects the idea of a strike for political reasons. Instead, it wants to use the traditional Anti-War Day more emphatically than before to drive home to the public that the unions' aims are directed at peace and detente.

Robert Luchs
(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 12 October 1983)

Worker capital participation 'helps firms'

only a few successful companies can afford them is wrong.

About half the companies reviewed started schemes during recession. About a quarter began when their own capital investment was below the national average.

IW director Gerhard Fels, quotes one businessman as saying: "I don't let my workers participate because I'm doing well. I'm doing well because I let them participate."

Companies that run schemes have, on average, more invested as a proportion of the balance sheet total than the national average: 31.5 per cent against 20.9.

When schemes are subsidised by the company, the rate of liquidity improves noticeably. In the long run, liquidity depends on how many workers are prepared to leave their money invested beyond the repayment date. Four out of five do.

The 770 participation companies surveyed in 1977 accounted for workers' capital worth DM2.3bn. The 145 com-

panies this year had workers' participation in one form or another of DM5.5bn, averaging DM10,000 per person.

Workers are becoming more willing to join in. In the 1960s, only 27 per cent of eligible workers did. But in the 1970s, more than 60 per cent did.

The report says trade union allegations that this kind of capital participation is directed against them is wrong. It did not weaken their position within the companies.

However, it does concede that workers in small companies running schemes were less inclined to strike than other workers.

Works councils were strengthened, say the authors, because they were given additional rights. Local union representatives, on the other hand, often had difficulty getting their objections across to the workforce.

The study concludes that participation was most efficient in small and medium sized firms, regardless whether the firm subsidised schemes.

The often-voiced view that profit-related participation schemes were the most efficient had not stood up to scrutiny.

The authors say that no one model was equally suitable for all companies.

Hans-Willy Bein
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 October 1983)



The big three at IG Metall... from left, the retiring chairman, Eugen Loderer, new deputy, Franz Steinkühler, and the new chairman, Hans Mayr, at the conference in Munich.

Government is accused of seeking confrontation

The government was seeking confrontation, not consensus, the retiring head of the metalworkers' union, Eugen Loderer, says.

He told the annual congress of IG Metall, which had 2.5m members, that the willingness of people to make sacrifices had turned into a one-sided imposition of sacrifices on the workers.

Bonn had done nothing to rescue the troubled steel and ship-building industries.

Loderer warned against attempts to do away with social achievements such as worker's co-determination.

He said: "Those who launch such a drive will trigger a head-on collision. We respect political minorities but will not tolerate political minorities' disregard for our interests."

Röln Stadt-Anzeiger

He criticised Bonn's decision to structure the Federally owned Steel Group. This would do away with termination.

The illusion of an economic miracle created during the election campaign had fizzled.

"The government seems to be at least bit interested in reconciling the interests of all concerned," said Loderer. "The government was stubbornly clinging to free market principles."

"The longer the government is in doing nothing to overcome the employment crisis the more burden it has imposed on the work force," he said.

Common interests and ideological attitudes on technology than German industry and a conservative government had existed before, in the pressure of the 1930s.

Like then, the employers now demanded a reduction of production costs: "They short-sightedly put their own profits, forgetting the many of us a whole."

Loderer reaffirmed the union's position of a general strike to prevent deployment of US missiles. He also criticised one-sided government appeals.

He called on politicians in East and West to abandon dogmatism in favour of bold ideas.

The national executive member in charge of collective bargaining, Hans Janssen, accused the employers of "openly calling for an authoritarian style of management."

He sharply criticised a statement by the manager of the association of employers in the metal industry to the effect that a strike for a 35-hour week would be illegal.

The union's new chairman, Hans Mayr, said the union must remain outside of action even in a crisis.

In times of crisis union action consisted not only of higher pay but also of a step backwards in the success.

Günter Wiedemann
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 October 1983)

TRADE

China, Germany sign deal to protect investment

Germany and China have signed an agreement designed to protect investment ventures. Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambdordoff signed the agreement in Peking. Items covered include compensation arrangements and transfer of capital and profits.

China wants to import technology from Germany, it must pay for it. Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambdordoff made this clear this week in Peking.

He said technology was private property. Transfer of technology was therefore a private business deal.

The Chinese say they are a developing country and should get help from other nations. This issue is central to the question of a New International Economic Order. How are Third World countries to pay for development?

Much know-how remain in private hands and countries such as China cannot afford it.

German businessmen in China complain that not only do the Chinese want technology to be supplied free, but that they are also not always above board in their attempts to get it. They use big bribes as a lure to get studies by Western firms.

They then demand detailed blueprints and production instructions. Sometimes they ask for competitive products to be examined. Yet often there is no intention to conclude any deal at all.

Count Lambdordoff, speaking to the German trade committee in Peking, mentioned "unjustifiable demands" by the Chinese.

However, he also said China was more prepared to pay for technology with raw materials than it was.

China is more concerned about Japan's attitudes on technology than Germany. Chinese officials said the Japanese were going out of their way to prevent any of their know-how from being transferred. Often, equipment was supplied without usable instructions.

Saudi Arabia is no longer Germany's main oil supplier. In the first half of 1983, its crude oil exports fell 66 per cent to 3.3 million tons.

This reflects a strong change in the pattern of trade between the two nations, something that has been overshadowed by the debate over whether the proposed M2 tank should be sold to Saudi Arabia and by Chancellor Kohl's visit to Riyadh.

Saudi Arabia was West Germany's principal oil supplier in 1982 and the most important non-European buyer of German goods after the USA.

In 1982, Germany exported DM8.5bn worth of goods to Saudi Arabia, 25 per cent of its trade with Arab countries. Saudi Arabia's exports to Germany, primarily crude, amounted to DM10.5bn.

So Germany had a deficit. This year deficit will not just go into balance. It will probably turn into a German surplus.

Saudi Arabia lost its number one position as Germany's oil supplier in

Chinese officials told Count Lambdordoff that they did not want China to become dependent on Japan. But German goods, especially industrial equipment, were much more expensive than Japanese.

Count Lambdordoff stressed that joint ventures were the best way of ensuring a continuous flow of technology.

The Chinese have been pushing these ventures since 1979 without much success.

They involve foreign partners being offered equities of up to 50 per cent.

The Chinese company provides cheap labour and favourable production conditions. The foreign partner is expected to supply know-how. Profits are shared.

Some 50 joint ventures have been established in China so far. Only two involve German companies: the Darmstadt-based Wella (a cosmetics factory in Tianjin) and the Maulburg-based Busch KG (vacuum pumps in Shanghai).

Foreign partners usually pin their hopes on the Chinese market — at least in the medium term. The Chinese, want to acquire technology that will enable them to export to South-East Asia and earn foreign exchange.

But German businessmen consider the conditions offered by other Asian countries such as Sri Lanka, South Korea and the Philippines, more favourable and less risky.

The investment protection agreement, Count Lambdordoff signed in Peking is intended to reduce the risk factor, which is mostly political.

The main provisions are: German companies are free to transfer profits and withdraw capital (with reciprocity for Chinese ventures in Germany). Compensation in case of expropriation is to be adequate and swift.

The provision on the transfer of capital and/or profits out of China means that the Peking government has to provide foreign exchange.

Arbitration in case of disputes will rest with an international panel.

The only other country that has an investment protection agreement with



Count Lambdordoff (left) with the Chinese leader Huo Guoleng (extreme right) in Peking.

China is Sweden. But that is regarded as inadequate.

But the Sino-German agreement will probably be as a model for agreements with France, Japan and the USA.

The agreement, like those between Germany and some 50 developing countries, paves the way for Federal guarantees that would protect German investors from political risks.

But the actual effectiveness of the agreement will depend on political conditions and goodwill.

In any event, the agreement does show that China is willing to accept the capitalist rules of the game.

Count Lambdordoff said that the most important difference between his visit to China three years ago and this one was that Peking had become more pragmatic. Last time, it did not want to discuss concrete projects.

China was now prepared to pay for technology with raw materials and to borrow on world markets on commercial terms. It had not dropped its wish for financial aid.

Peking's Prime Minister Zhou Ziyang told Count Lambdordoff that China would under no circumstances overextend itself like Mexico and Brazil.

Sino-German trade rose markedly in the first seven months of this year after a ten per cent drop in 1982.

The most promising business activities are plant and equipment, exploration with German help for coal and non-ferrous metals, the development of China's chemical industry and nuclear technology.

than other Opec countries. It does not have to reduce its rate of economic development due to fluctuating oil revenues.

Estimates put Saudi Arabia's currency reserves and foreign investments at a minimum of \$150bn.

It is the avowed aim of the Riyadh government to go ahead with the development of its capital and consumer goods industries. Infrastructure projects have had priority up to now.

This shift of priorities is likely to open a new market for German companies. Until now construction and electronics industries have mainly benefited.

Riyadh wants to step up its cooperation with Germany through joint ventures. There are 55 now in operation.

The Saudi-German Development and Investment Company, founded last year, develops project ideas that are put to German and Saudi Arabian private industries.

Heinz Stüwe
(Die Welt, 8 October 1983)

Germany would welcome and politically support cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Count Lambdordoff said that an agreement was being worked on.

The ratio of manufactured products in China's exports to Germany has risen. The minister stressed that the diversification of China's exports provided a chance for the future.

Helmut Opletal
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 October 1983)

Plant, chemicals lead Iranian import boom

Iran has again become one of Germany's major trading partners. Germany is buying more crude from Iran and exporting more plant and equipment and chemicals.

Trade dropped off sharply when the Shah was deposed. The West became wary of the regime under the mullahs.

In the first seven months this year, Germany sold more than DM4bn worth of goods to Iran compared to DM1.7bn the year before, an increase of almost 150 per cent.

One reason is a new attitude by the mullahs. Their latest five-year plan gives priority to agriculture and heavy industry.

A German businessman recently in Tehran says Iran desperately needs to catch up. There were many potential customers at the German machinery industry exhibits at the Tehran international fair.

In the first seven months this year, plant and equipment sales to Iran rose 65 per cent to DM680m, the highest comparable figure since the revolution.

Iran has, over the same period, bought DM610m worth of chemicals, more than the DM600m for the whole of 1982.

Iran exports to Germany in the first seven months amounted to DM874m, an increase of 76 per cent.

Main priorities of the five-year plan are agriculture, infrastructure, heavy industry and export growth.

This has led to stepped up exports to Germany, primarily crude.

In the first eight months this year, Germany bought close to 1.5 million tons of Iranian crude, more than twice the quantity of the corresponding period last year.

Iran's exports to Germany amounted to DM874m in the first seven months of 1983, up 76 per cent.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 October 1983)

Deficit with the Saudis heads towards surplus

the first half of 1983. Crude exports fell 66 per cent to 3.3 million tons, putting it in place four behind Britain, Libya and Nigeria.

The dramatic drop reduced Germany's bill for imports from Saudi Arabia (97 per cent accounted for by oil) from DM660m in the first half of 1982 to DM1.85bn in the corresponding period this year.

Fears that Saudi Arabia would have to drop or postpone projects already on order with German companies have proved unfounded.

German exports fell ten per cent in the first half of this year to DM3.9bn, but this was not more than expected.

Saudi Arabia is in a better position

The man who became top goal scorer for the Bochum Club

DIE WELT
THE GERMAN TRIBUNE

When Berthold Beitz went to join Krupp in 1953, he thought the Bochum Club, the firm's colloquial name, was a soccer club.

Beitz, who has just turned 70, is the director of the supervisory board of Fried. Krupp GmbH, Essen and chairman of the Krupp Foundation, set up to run the organisation after Krupp died.

There is a whiff of vanity when he says he was never an employee of Krupp. But there is no self-aggrandisement when he says Krupp has been his life's work.

The former confidant and personal plenipotentiary of the late Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach is today the empire's ruler and executor of Krupp's will.

At Krupp's graveside in 1967 he characterised his "friend and hero," saying: "His life was ruled by the dictates of duty and service to his company."

So is Beitz's. He is a fascinating blend of intuition and businesslike matter-of-factness.

"You cannot learn to be a manager. You've either got it or you haven't," he says about himself, not the least abash-

ed by praise of his organisational ability, boldness and imagination.

But there is more to his personality. On the eve of a friend's birthday, he wrote to him: "One should not overestimate such a day. The number of years means nothing. You're as old as you're young as your state of health and your attitudes. Age is relative."

Beitz is one of those people for whom the zenith of life and work is always ahead and not behind.

His father was a cavalry NCO from Demmin on the periphery of Pomerania. Beitz graduated from high school in Greifswald in 1934 and went into banking. In 1939, he went to Royal Dutch Shell AG, rising to become the business manager of the Karpfen-Öl AG in Boryslaw in 1941.

Neither he nor his wife talks much about those days. But he was awarded Poland's highest civilian decoration for foreigners in addition to Israel's Ynd Vashem Medal.

Herr and Frau Beitz saved the lives of many Jews and Poles.

Greifswald University awarded him an honorary doctorate for his services to developing world trade.

After the war, his initiative and boldness helped him develop links with East Bloc nations which benefited both Krupp and all German business.

Willy Brandt offered him the post of Bonn ambassador to Poland. Beitz de-

clined. He might have accepted had it not been for loyalty to Krupp. Beitz is a man whose talents would make him successful in any field. In 1972, the chairman of German Olympic Committee, Willi Daume, appointed Beitz chief organiser for the yachting and rowing events of the Munich Olympic Games.

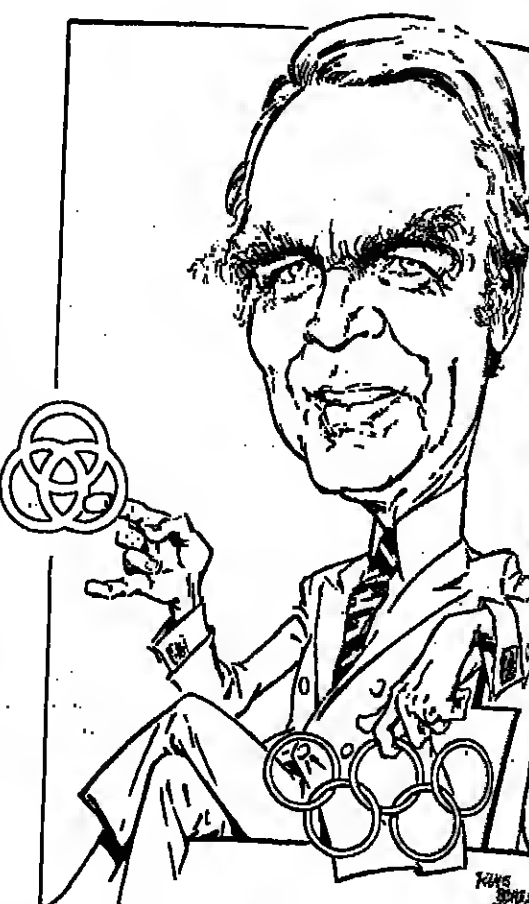
These events were in Kiel. He later became a member of both the national and international Olympic committees. Beitz has always seized opportunities. In 1946, the British made him vice-president of the insurance authority in Hamburg. From there he went to Iduna Insurance, catapulting it in four years from place 16 in place three in the business.

His prime job when he went to Krupp was to fight restrictions imposed by the Allies after the war. In 1968 they were removed.

Beitz's most important achievement was to have improved Krupp's productivity through Iran's purchase of Krupp's coke worth DM1bn.

It was typical of him that he had Ludwig Poullain, the former head of Westdeutsche Landesbank who then went of favour, taking him to the firing line.

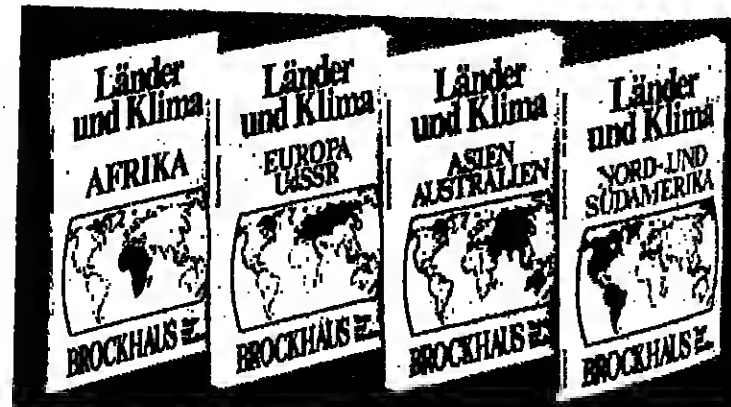
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(Cartoon: Klaus Huber)

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The computer could lend invaluable assistance in education, just as it can in commercial uses such as text compilation and editing, costing and accounting, and technical and scientific applications.

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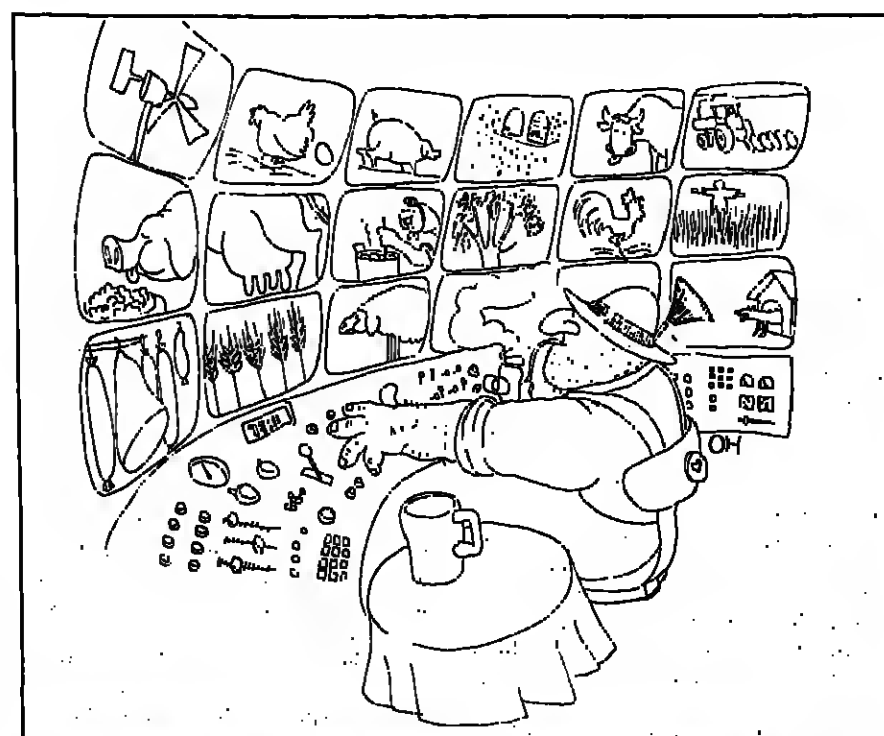
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Letting the software do the hard work... Farmer Franz tending the flock.

(Cartoon: Huber)

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Whether that would be at all desirable is another matter. Personal contact among workmates, already almost limited to the coffee break, would then be virtually ended.

The trade unions see home computers as a threat to hundreds of thousands of jobs. Home computers are still bought mainly by fans and do-it-yourselfers, but far-reaching effects are feared.

IG Metall, the engineering workers' union, both sees jobs threatened and expects "far-reaching repercussions on personality development" to arise.

It is far from unlikely that home computers will put people out of work. Small firms, says Max Peter Gottlob, head of Texas Instruments' microelectronic training centre, could well use them to computerise operations.

A few years ago that would have been out of the question for smaller companies.

But now technology is steadily gaining in unrelenting comfort and home computer prices are plummeting, the threshold for small firms is growing increasingly tempting and accessible.

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But sales policies are a sure indication that home computer manufacturers are under heavy pressure.

They are happy to sell through any outlet available: photo dealers, radio and TV dealers, office equipment and toy shops, department stores and specialised computer marts.

It will not be long before there are rumours that coffee retailers are selling computers too, just like they have sold video recorders.

It remains to be seen which retail outlet proves most satisfactory in providing advice and back-up. August Rübinger (Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 7 October 1983)

The man who became top goal scorer for the Bochum Club

DIE WELT
WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG FÜR DIE FACHWIRTSCHAFT

When Berthold Beitz went to join Krupp in 1953, he thought the Bochum Club, the firm's colloquial name, was a soccer club.

Beitz, who has just turned 70, is the director of the supervisory board of Fried. Krupp GmbH, Essen and chairman of the Krupp Foundation, set up to run the organisation after Krupp died.

There is a whiff of vanity when he says he was never an employee of Krupp. But there is no self-aggrandisement when he says Krupp has been his life's work.

The former confidant and personal plenipotentiary of the late Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach is today the empire's ruler and executor of Krupp's will.

At Krupp's graveside in 1967 he characterised his "friend and hero," saying: "His life was ruled by the dictates of duty and service to his company."

So is Beitz's. He is a fascinating blend of intuition and businesslike matter-of-factness.

"You cannot learn to be a manager. You've either got it or you haven't," he says about himself, not the least abash-

ed by praise of his organisational ability, boldness and imagination.

But there is more to his personality. On the eve of a friend's birthday, he wrote to him: "One should not overestimate such a day. The number of years means nothing. You're as old or as young as your state of health and your attitudes. Age is relative."

Beitz is one of those people for whom the zenith of life and work is always ahead and not behind.

His father was a cavalry NCO from Demmin on the periphery of Pomerania. Beitz graduated from high school in Greifswald in 1934 and went into banking. In 1939, he went to Royal Dutch Shell AG, rising to become the business manager of the Karpata-Oil AG in Boryslaw in 1941.

Neither he nor his wife talks much about those days. But he was awarded Poland's highest civilian decoration for foreigners in addition to Israel's Yad Vashem Medal.

Herr and Frau Beitz saved the lives of many Jews and Poles.

Greifswald University awarded him an honorary doctorate for his services to developing world trade.

After the war, his initiative and boldness helped him develop links with East Bloc nations which benefited both Krupp and all German business.

Willy Brandt offered him the post of Bonn ambassador to Poland. Beitz de-

clined. He might have accepted had it not been for loyalty to Krupp. Beitz is a man whose talents would make him successful in any field. In 1972, the chairman of German Olympic Committee, Willi Daume, appointed Beitz chief organiser for the yachting and rowing events of the Munich Olympic Games.

These events were in Kiel. He later became a member of both the national and international Olympic committees. Beitz has always seized opportunities. In 1946, the British made him vice-president of the insurance authority in Hamburg. From there he went to Iduna Insurance, catapulting it in four years from place 16 to place three in the business.

His prime job when he went to Krupp was to fight restrictions imposed by the Allies after the war. In 1968 they were removed.

Beitz's most important achievement



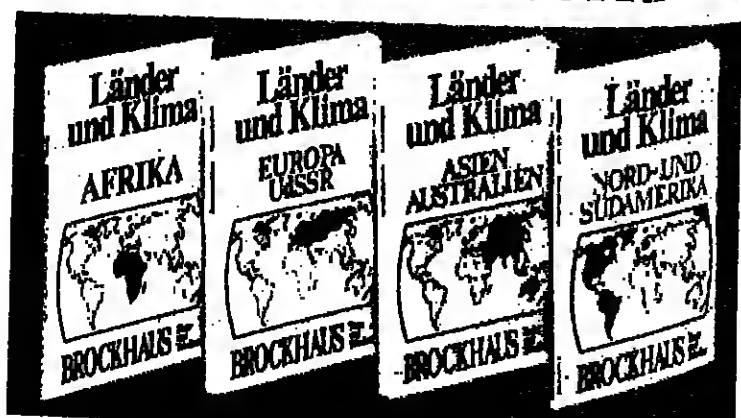
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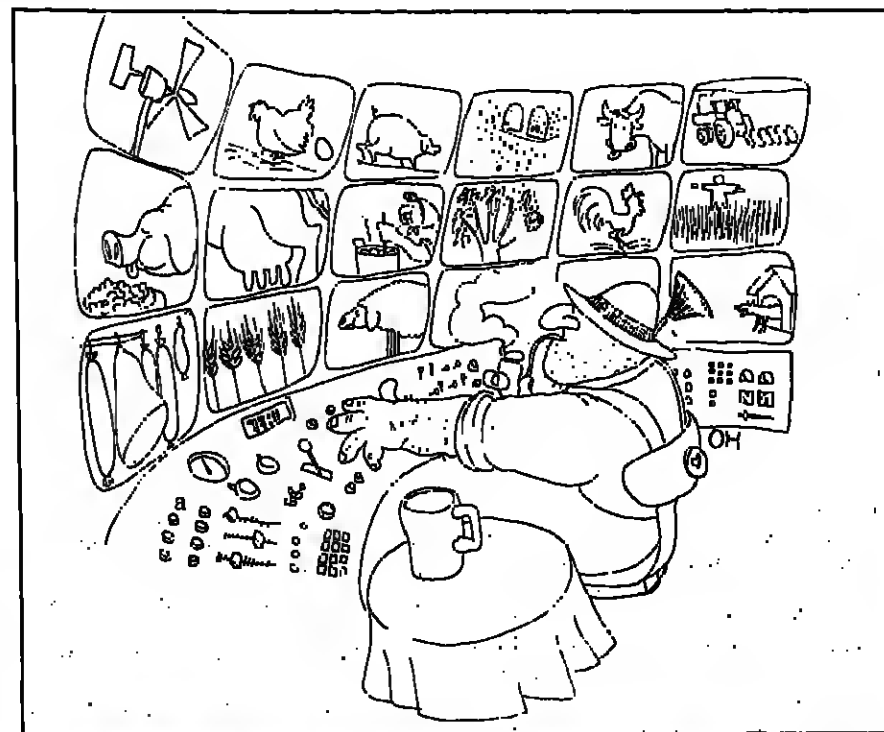
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LITERATURE

The world of Nobel Prize winner William Golding

An English-language writer seemed likely to be awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. Nadine Gordimer was named. So was Doria Lessing. Some felt that the Stockholm academicians would finally show common sense and choose one of the foremost European writers in recent decades, Graham Greene.

But Greene was overlooked yet again. This damages the Nobel Prize jury's reputation rather than Greene's.

Yet the jury does not need to be ashamed of their 1983 choice, William Golding, best known as the author of *Lord of the Flies*.

He is a major English writer of the older generation, if not a famous one. His novels, which are not always easy reading, have been available in German for over 20 years.

They are held in high regard by a fairly limited number of connoisseurs.

Golding was born in 1911 in a small town in Cornwall. Some Germans imagine Cornwall to be an eerie and gloomy place because Wagner's *Tristan* is set there. German directors have tended for some time to give the opera a dark and gloomy air.

This view of Cornwall is not entirely inaccurate. It is a part of England where people with second sight are said to live.

It is an area where tendencies toward the occult coincide with religious mania; the mystic and the mysterious, as Golding's readers can well imagine.

His family was nothing special, and he became a teacher, like his father. He taught at a boys' school in Salisbury from 1939 to 1961.

But during the war he was in the Royal Navy, and active service is said to have left an indelible mark on him.

It is reputed to have ingrained the pessimism in a man who believes neither in progress nor in the possibility of changing the world.

Evil is within man himself. It cannot be eliminated, merely recognized for what it is.

Gloomy and bizarre though Golding's stage set may be, he does hold out some hope in not ruling out the possibility of the individual coming to know himself.

He did not start writing until late in life and can hardly be said to have had much initial success. He was unable to find a publisher for his first three novels.

But he then made a name for himself virtually overnight and was famous for a while as the author of a novel unforgotten for the harsh and uncompromising manner in which it is narrated.

Lord of the Flies, published in English in 1954 and in German translation in 1956, tells the tale of a group of schoolboys left to their own devices on an uninhabited Pacific island.

Whether they want to or not, they are forced to form a community or society. The result is frightening. In such special and difficult circumstances seemingly primeval instincts come to the fore and civilized people soon prove to be barbarians.

Golding's subsequent novels were not as successful as his first, which was filmed by Peter Brook. They are also parables intended to demonstrate basic human situations.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

They are primitive situations usually depicted in terms of archaic, mythical configurations.

The relationship between good and evil, meaning and madness, humanity and inhumanity is one Golding persistently views with scepticism and a heavy heart.

Yet his leanings toward the transcendental are too evident ever to lend support to suspicions that he might be a nihilist.

The Inheritors, 1955, published in German as *Die Erben* in 1964, is a strange and extremely frightening novel in which the last Neanderthals are unrelentingly wiped out by homo sapiens.

Pincher Martin, 1956, entitled in German *Der Felsen des zweiten Todes*, tells the tale of a shipwrecked man who reviews his life in the course of his death agony. In both novels the forces of evil triumph.

The Spire, 1964, published in German as *Der Turm der Kathedrale* in 1966, is characteristic of Golding's view

of the world and of his strange yet impressive imagination.

The building of an extraordinary cathedral (Snisbury) immediately springs to mind) symbolises the senselessness and presumptuousness of human activity. The cathedral is built on marshy ground.

His *Darkness Visible*, 1979, published in German as *Das Feuer der Finsternis* in 1980, was less successful, being accused of wordiness and pseudo-profundity.

All his books are full of macabre visions. Obsessions always play a leading role. Golding readily depicts all manner of perversions.

There is no shortage of sadists and exhibitionists or of criminals or people who turn out to be infamous individuals.

So is his world in the final analysis an inhuman one? Literary critics do not agree on this point, and it is not an easy one on which to arrive at a decision.

As the vague and mysterious often prevails in Golding's work, interpreters are in a position to cite all manner of examples in support of the most varied tenets and interpretations.

Golding consistently avoids commit-

PHILOSOPHY

Failed bid to bury Adorno academically

Fourteen years after the death of Theodor W. Adorno, the first international conference on the man and his work has been held at Frankfurt University.

Adorno was a principal advocate of the Critical Theory school of sociology and philosophy.

The aim of the conference, Jürgen Habermas said, has been a productive assimilation of Adorno from the semidistance in present-day philosophical and sociological debate.

An attempt was to have been made to counteract what he called the fateful tendency to allow irrationalists to lay claim to Adorno's negative dialectics.

But the Critical Theory proved much more alive than either its friends or foes had imagined.

The framework of a specialist gathering was split at the seams by an enormous influx, totally unexpected by the organisers, of grey-haired veterans and inquisitive youngsters.

In the university's largest lecture theatre, which was full to overflowing, the atmosphere at times resembled that at a rock concert.

Try though some of the speakers might, they failed to bury Adorno academically.

The final lecture was by Martin Jay, a philosopher who teaches at Berkeley, California. He scotched once and for all the organisers' intentions and said how it was.

Despite many differences Adorno's exemplary figure of the modern man

Nordwest-Zeitung

may be ranked alongside that of vehement critics of reason.

Adorno was not given to systematising; he was a master of microanalysis. Yet his ideas retain an inner link and are thus of systematic sign.

He was a materialist, as his noted pupil Alfred Schmidt, of Frankfurt, noted — if that meant socially deciphering cultural phenomena.

The reality could not be retraced to the concept. Adorno uncompromisingly rejected a kitsch philosophy striving for "higher" values.

Yet he by no means ruled out the ultimate issues of meaning and death.

Adorno's materialism, Schmidt said in the opening lecture, is aimed at the idea of intellectual and sensual pleasure, at the utopia of a reconciliation with nature.

Michael Theunissen, of Berlin, showed that this was not merely a naive hope. In his lecture on Negativity in Adorno he said Adorno did not want to yield to immediacy.

The negative nature of the existing world, which was totally wrong, was read by Adorno as the mirror image of an entirely different world.

At present this other world was only apparent in works of art.

Albrecht Wellmer, of Konstanz, like-

ing himself, for which he was blamed, and his work contained a number of parabolic motifs. A writer who whose seemed to resist the irrational and magical indeed gives it preference. he expected to go in for a artistic preoccupation with mystery issues.

Yet there can be no doubt that parables relate to our own era, at least inspired by it.

There are no arguments about the quality of his prose, although readers can hardly judge, having seen a variety of translations.

His virtuoso command of the English language enables him to tell his tales with a degree of descriptive power.

He is hard to pigeonhole in literary history. His writing has been said to testify to Japanese influence.

That may be true, but which novelist in recent decades has not been influenced by Japanese?

No, Golding cannot be any particular school of writing. He uses many modern forms of expression, but in the final analysis remains conservative and a traditionalist.

It is greatly in the Stockholms choice of his prize that the choice of his prize is a sign of the times. It is a sign of the times that it had the place of a novel in the history of literature.

But its continued neglect of the most important contemporary novelists jeopardises the enormous prestige of the Nobel Prize still enjoys.

Marcel Reich (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 23 October 1983)

wisely praised the reality-opening of the beautiful. But the truth of it never more than a potential as it saw it.

This did not rule out the possibility of art having to be understood as a sensual manifestation of sense, rooted in experience.

Adorno nonetheless failed to create popular art and was always opposed to jazz. He rejected as "practical" approach to art.

Peter Bürger, of Bremen, said the problem of the extent to which Adorno's aesthetic theory could be applied to the post-moderns.

Their aim was to eliminate the distinction between art and life.

Adorno diagnosed at an early age the ageing of modernity, but he was the dialectics of art and life.

Both differ yet are inseparable in an interface of assimilation and repulsion aimed at finding truth.

Hans Robert Jauss, the Konstanzer critic, criticised as Platonic such concept of truth. Instead, together with Habermas, he advocated a concept of truth.

Jauss was the most prominent critic to persistently try and interpret Adorno as a forerunner of Habermas.

A phalanx of Frankfurt School supporters of Habermas, who he had met at Frankfurt for the past few months, sought to refute what they dubbed Adorno's all too obvious criticism of reason.

They were seconded by Hans Schnädelbach, of Hamburg, who said Adorno had had too little confidence in reason.

Hauke Brunkhorst at least pointed out what distinguished Adorno from other "communicative reason" theorists. He said Adorno's linguistic medium of control.

According to Adorno we must not

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THE CINEMA

Soviet film takes top prize at festival

prize at the 32nd International Film Festival in Mannheim was what surprisingly awarded to the film *Männnerziehung* (Male Upbringing) by Usmann Saparov.

It depicts the confrontation between old and new life styles in an Asian part of the Soviet Union.

There have been better works on the festival from a child's point of view. The special prize for the best TV film went to a production by one of Germany's two major TV networks, ZDF, *Banau oder Die Töchter der Uro* from Joyce?

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Continued on page 11

late 1960s. That was when the director Dragan Kresoja produced his first works at the Belgrade film club.

In his Mannheim entry, the feature film *Nur noch dieses eine Mal* (Just this one more Time), he relates the experiences of two prisoners on parole.

One, the son of a high-ranking party official who was sent to prison for pushing drugs, finds his wife with another man and his addict brother in a mental hospital.

The other dies when he has a girlfriend. She had lived from prostitution while he was in prison.

Prostitution, drug addiction, alcoholism, old age and loneliness are also problems for doctors and nurses in the emergency ward of a Berlin hospital.

Johann Feindt's *Der Versuch zu leben* (An Attempt to Live) observes them and their patients at close range yet unobtrusively. The "cases" which he follows even after their leaving the hospital (camera Karl Siebig) are never put on exhibit.

Detachment is the only way the doctor manages to keep himself from disintegrating.

Der Versuch zu leben, produced by the German Film and TV Academy in Berlin, is a microcosm of metropolitan anonymity: an attempt to live.

So were some of the other films. Many were no more than attempts. Some were failures.

The Greek entry *Engel* (Angel) by George Katokouznos, is based on a true crime committed in Athens's homosexual milieu. It is the story of a young man who escapes unsavoury fa-

Ulrrike Ottinger's latest film, *Dorian Gray in Spiegel der Boulevardpresse* (Dorian Gray reflected in the tabloid Press), completes her trilogy.

The series started with *Bildnis einer Trinkerin* (Picture of a Woman Alcoholic), 1979. This was followed in 1981 by *Freak Orlando*.

Apart from a few personality traits of the lead, the film has little similarity with Oscar Wilde's "Picture of Dorian Gray".

The title's reference to the daringly melodramatic turn-of-the-century Wilde novel was essentially meant as a homage to the author. The film is not a cinematic adaptation of the novel.

Ulrike Ottinger read Wilde's only novel a long time ago. She decided not to reread it because she wanted to retain the impression she gained at the time. The idea was to use the imagery that was retained in her mind for free thought association.

This was the method she used with *Orlando*, which was based on a Virginia Woolf novel.

Orlando's journey through the centuries turned into a film about freaks and peripheral groups.

Their involvement in a variety of power structures, past and present, was translated into episodes of fantastic imagery.

Wilde's *Dorian Gray*, a young and handsome dandy enamoured of himself, is a special kind of freak.

His extreme lust for pleasure drives him into an irresponsible and — in his era — scandalous way of life that pro-

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Conflict in a Asian Soviet... a scene from 'Männnerziehung'.

(Photo: Mannheim film festival)

mily conditions by seeking refuge with a friend.

Through him, he becomes a professional transvestite who is made to prostitute himself.

The story has been turned into a bloody melodrama that confirms rather than removes ingrained prejudices.

The South African entry, *Mein Land, mein Hut* is David Bensussan's first work and is equally questionable.

The plight of Johannesburg's black population serve as a pretext for a traditional play with comical complications over the macabre attempt to cover up a fatal accident. The blacks are seen from a colonialist Uncle Tom perspective. Any black humour that might have been intended failed.

A novelty at this year's festival was a special competition for new film-making countries.

Prizes of DM4,000 of the DM10,000 provided by the Bonn Development Aid

Dorian Gray completes the picture

ves his undoing. Ultimately, his conscience demands atonement.

Ottinger has seized on Dorian Gray's special personality, particularly his narcissism, to turn him into the perfect victim of a world-wide media coarseness.

The press empire is headed by a woman, a Dr Mabuse with a computer brain that tells her to drop her obsolete journalistic methods.

Rather than wait for a story to present to her sensational starved readership, she wants to create her own tailor-made sensations and scandals as needed.

Dorian Gray, with his unbridled lust for life, seems the right man for the job.

He becomes dependent on the concern. But by the same token he is also its most brilliant "pupil", seeing through its structures.

This second interpretation is intended to mirror his character, presenting two facets of one truth as with the two alcoholics in *Bildnis einer Trinkerin*. They, too, represent two aspects of the same character.

A further facet was added by giving the role to a woman: the former photo model Veruschka von Lehnndorff.

Ulrike Ottinger has known her since she played Gabriele D'Annunzio in Elfride Jelinek's "Clara S."

Ministry went to *Der Mut der Anderen* (The Courage of the Others) by Christian Richard of Upper Volta.

The story of suppression and resistance is told entirely without dialogue. It is conveyed through stark pictures resembling African folk tales.

Das Haus des Herrn Haghdoozt (Mr Haghdoozt's House) an Iranian entry by Mahmoud Sami, a graduate of the Munich Film Academy, also has no dialogue. Sami uses elements of old silent comedies to relate his story.

He received a DM3,000 prize, as did the Philippine entry *Turumba* by Kidlat Tahimik.

Entries from new film-making nations should be better integrated in the general competition next year.

Third World film-makers are poorly served by being relegated to a ghetto for people not yet to be taken seriously.

Heinz Kersten (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 October 1983)

Von Lehnndorff is less practised as an actress than Delphine Seyrig, who plays Dr Mabuse. She is more "naive and brittle." But this very fact makes for the desired tension in the film.

Other members of the cast are Barbara Valentin, Irm Hermann, Magdalena Montezuma, Wolf Vostell and Ineba Blumenschein. This is Blumenschein's first work under Ulrike Ottinger after a prolonged break.

Apart from a brief Canaries episode, the bulk of the film was shot in Berlin. Ottinger has again travelled widely to find new locations.

She has again discovered unusual industrial installations, among them decomposition towers in Rubleben. She has also latched onto underground sewage systems which she has put in an entirely unfamiliar context.

Our interview ended with a complaint about the current film policy in this country — a complaint that must be taken seriously.

Ottinger regards her *Dorian Gray* film as the last one she will be able to realise as an independent producer because author-film makers are increasingly being displaced by industrial films.

New provisions calling for 20 per cent of the producer's own cash will squeeze out the small members of the industry or force them to join up with big firms.

Artistic freedom will be lost in the process, and this can hardly be the aim of Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann's cultural policy. *Carla Rhode*

(Der Tagesspiegel, 2 October 1983)

A row has erupted over the publication of school textbooks produced specially to help Turkish children in Germany learn their own language.

A right-wing Turkish newspaper, *Tercüman*, says the books are poisoning children with ideas of communists and "other militants".

Complaints have been received from the Turkish education ministry and a consulate teacher burnt some copies.

The textbooks were specially written as part of a scheme offering Turkish as a foreign language option to Turkish children in Berlin.

An EEC directive has said that children of foreign workers from member and associate member nations of the EEC are legally entitled to lessons in their mother tongue.

But a problem in Berlin was textbooks. They could not be imported from Turkey, because they had to be suitable for children who could not read or write Turkish.

Two Turkish authors were commissioned. The guidelines called for the history and culture of the home country to receive as much emphasis as the environment, family education and housing of foreign families in Germany.

It was a difficult task. The authors had to deal carefully with such themes as the undemocratic rule in Turkey and growing hostility in Germany towards foreigners.

The book-burning episode was because the books have quotes from people not in current political favour in Turkey including former Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit.

Tercüman accused Berlin's education senator, Hanna-Renate Laurien (CDU), of condoning left-wing ideologies being taught to Turkish children.

■ MIGRANTS

No Turkish delight in new language textbooks

It said the education department was trying to alienate Turkish children from Turkey.

Turkish has been an option for Turkish children since 1978 in some Berlin schools. Since 1979 mother tongue instruction has been a mandatory option in all German schools.

In 1981 the EEC said all children of foreign workers from an EEC member state or associate state had the right to lessons in their mother tongue.

Many people think that the entire scheme will prove too much for Turkish children with poor Turkish and bad German. There are 28,000 Turkish schoolchildren in Berlin.

The teachers in the Berlin scheme all qualified in Turkey. They were handed a provisional curriculum, but the lack of suitable textbooks forced them to improvise.

German publishers were not interested in providing textbooks because of the commercial risks.

The Berlin Senate asked the *Bund-Länder-Kommission* in Bonn (a mixed federal and state committee) to produce textbooks.

Seminar director Gerhard Weil commissioned two Turkish authors, Incil Özhan, who has lived in Germany for 17 years, and the writer Adnan Binyazar, who had worked for the Turkish Education Ministry.

They were faced with several problems.

The selection of the texts was even more difficult than purely educational structuring. The intention was to devise language rather than current affairs books, Weil stressed.

The undemocratic conditions in Turkey, a NATO partner, and the growing hostility towards foreigners in Germany made this a tightrope act for the authors.

They appear to have adequately highlighted conditions in Turkey.

The response of children and parents has been positive. The textbooks have become a sort of family reading matter, say the Turkish teachers in Berlin. There have been many requests for additional teaching material for the parents.

Topics like how to handle advertising and video films have met with as much interest as the cautious criticism of patriarchal family structures. The same applies to the description of discriminatory practices and the misery in the *gecekondu*, the slums that are "non-existent" according to Turkish officialdom.

The new textbooks deal with everyday experiences and the typical conflicts facing foreign families in their host countries.

The depiction of local conditions is restricted to a few pages because the textbooks are to be used in other West German states and West European countries.

A textbook publisher will be given a

'Economic disaster' for Germany if foreigners all went home

When times get tough and unemployment rises, foreigners tend to get the blame. People on the extreme right of the political spectrum are especially quick to get at foreigners.

The belief is that deporting foreigners would solve unemployment. But expert opinion doesn't agree. It paints a very different picture of what would happen if the country were suddenly denuded of its foreign population.

Only a few industries have a high proportion of foreigners — principally catering, engineering and municipal service industries. And there are considerable regional differences.

One man at least believes that an exodus of foreigners would mean economic disaster. He is Karl Ranz, head of the Düsseldorf social affairs department.

He says that if 75 per cent of the foreigners were to leave the city within two to three years, major companies like Mannesmann, where the proportion of foreign workers is up to 43 per cent at times, would have to cut their output. This would lead to layoffs among the office staff.

And the way the Düsseldorf jobs are structured there would be no chance of employing Germans in place of the Turks.

The city would lose an annual DM50m in buying power. Withholding tax losses would amount to DM10.6m.

The figures are based on the assumption that the 36,500 foreign workers gross an average monthly pay of DM2,500.

The social security pensions fund

publication licence as a response from further abroad. The 128-page illustrated book has been revised.

"This will be the first book pair in several languages."

The response to the *Tercüman*, Hesse and Westphalia (Bavaria has no reaction) has been enormous.

But the teachers' union has reservations. It suspects that the help repatriation of Turkish children is being performed at regular intervals.

Some principals and teachers are divided into two categories: the good ones who like the play and the poor ones who don't. This division was the exception.

They frequently face difficulties and keep the play formed in order to spare schools the new subject.

Wait: "I hope that the case is considerably."

But he has refused to say whether Turkish instructions present Berlin curriculum only up to the tenth grade, or exam subject for high school.

Some participants in the subject have already called it a one-track nature.

A Turkish teacher: "In a suitable foreign language for children as well — one that is logical thinking every day as Latin."

In any event, the subject is an integrating effect on all sides. It were generally introduced, Turkish children would for edge."

Bettina Schewe
(Die Zeit, 30.10.83)

PASSION PLAY

Carpenter takes Nazareth crucifixion case to court

Members of the Bavarian alpine village of Oberammergau first performed the passion play in 1634, a year after a plague had swept through the community.

The play was performed at regular intervals for more than 300 years. Next year, a play will commemorate the 350th anniversary of the first performance. As the village grows, a curious off-stage tradition forbids women to take part unless they are under 35 and unmarried.

The Bavarian Constitutional Court judges will shortly rule on whether women are entitled to take part in the Oberammergau Passion play if they are aged over 35.

The time-honoured rule, reaffirmed by a 1982 parish council ruling for the 354th Passion play, says women must be spinsters of unblemished reputation and under 35.

Two hours of discussion at their hearing the panel of nine judges

decided that women were to be given the vote, subject to the restriction on taking part in the play.

The Passion play committee, it further ruled, was to have both the parish priest and his Protestant counterpart as co-opted members.

The council's decision was planned to the parish notice board but it could still not be described as a binding legal requirement.

"It's the same old trick," Seemüller told the court, in which as it happens women are no more represented than they are in Oberammergau parish council.

"Why," he asked the blue-robed justices beneath the Bavarian coat of arms, "when a male pensioner can earn an extra DM8,000 to DM10,000 as an extra in the Passion play season, can a female pensioner not do so?"

"Why is it that older women and married women can only work as cloakroom and toilet attendants? Why is the cash the play earns not evenly distributed?" The chief justice was similarly at a

loss to account for this state of affairs. Was it, he wondered, simply that the people of Oberammergau felt they were a law unto themselves?

Had they given no thought whatever to the idea of equal rights for women in the Passion play? Or were they still of the opinion that a woman's place was in the home?

Maybe, he suggested, a foundation or the villagers as a whole could be entrusted with responsibility for the Passion play. Perhaps it was time for the parish council to stand down.

Helmut Fischer, the lawyer representing the parish council and the 1970 Jesus, said the idea of entrusting someone else with responsibility had been set aside once and for all in 1929.

All attempts by Oberammergau women to gain election to the parish council had likewise failed. He felt this was a great pity, given that women were an "enlivening element and at times also a brake."

As for the restrictions on taking part that applied to women only, Fischer II (another Oberammergauer of the same name alides with the reformers) argued that they were part of the tradition.

It was, he said, a tradition that had never been called into question by the women themselves. It had also proved necessary.

"In the Passion," he said, "men play the crucial role, whereas the women's role is only a subordinate one."

But he added, as a Bavarian citizen he preferred to rely on a Bavarian court. This was a sentiment that met with the court's wholehearted approval.

To begin with, Xaver Seemüller only wanted to end discrimination of women in elections to the Passion play committee, but a reference to the further-reaching consequences was promptly taken up by the court.

The nine judges now propose to rule on whether the exclusion of many village women from the cast can be reconciled with constitutional guarantees of equal rights.

It is doubtful whether the court's ruling will come in time to have the slightest effect on the 1984 season. Seats for all performances have already sold out.

Karl Stankiewicz
(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 8 October 1983)

The 1980 production.



The Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and Jesus in the 1980 Passion play.
(Photos: dpa)

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(Photo: Archiv)

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